

## Message Text

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 KHARTO 03317 01 OF 02 240800Z

ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 ARA-10 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01

SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-12 TRSE-00 OMB-01 /101 W

-----035005 240834Z /11

R 240617Z JUL 78

FM AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7916

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMEMBASSY ROME

USINT HAVANA

USMISSION GENEVA

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

USMISSION US NATO

USICAWASHDC

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 2 KHARTOUM 3317

DEPT PASS OAU COLLECTIVE

HELSINKI FOR CAT DELEGATION

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: MASS, PORG, OAU, CU, FR, UR, XA

SUBJECT: OAU SUMMIT: FOREIGN MILITARY PRESENCE IN AFRICA

REF: (A) KHARTOUM 3268 (B) KHARTOUM 3269 (C) KHARTOUM 3200

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 KHARTO 03317 01 OF 02 240800Z

(D) KHARTOUM 3180 (E) KHARTOUM 3159

SUMMARY: AS EXPECTED, MAJORITY OF SPEECHES BY HEADS OF  
STATE DELIVERED TO SUMMIT JULY 19 AND 20 CONTAINED REFERENCES  
TO FOREIGN MILITARY INTERVENTION IN AFRICA. NIGERIAN HEAD  
OF STATE OLUSEGUN OBASANJO GAVE MOST BALANCED AND WELL-  
REASONED SPEECH ON FOREIGN MILITARY PRESENCE, WHILE

OTHERS EITHER DEFENDED CUBANS/SOVIETS OR FRENCH/WESTERN COUNTRIES. SPEECHES TENDED TO EXPOUND ON ALREADY WELL-KNOWN POLICIES OF RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS. COUNCIL OF MINISTERS AND SUMMIT RESOLUTIONS ON MILITARY INTERVENTION ARE NOT YET AVAILABLE, BUT IT IS RELIABLY REPORTED THAT RESOLUTIONS WILL NOT CONDEMN ANY COUNTRIES BY NAME, WILL REAFFIRM SOVEREIGNTY OF MEMBER STATES AND DECLARE AFRICA'S DEFENSE, SECURITY AND PEACE ARE SOLE RESPONSIBILITIES OF AFRICANS THEMSELVES. END SUMMARY

1. AS ONE OF FIRST SPEAKERS, GUINEAN PRES. SEKOU TOURE WOVE THEME OF FOREIGN DOMINATION OF AFRICA, THROUGHOUT HIS SPEECH. HE SAID "IT IS AFRICA ITSELF WHICH SOMETIMES CREATES CONDITIONS PERMITTING ITS ENEMIES TO INTERFERE IN ITS INTERNAL AFFAIRS. SOME AFRICANS ARE THEMSELVES MORE HARMFUL THAN IMPERIALISM. THEY HAVE THE MEANS TO LIBERATE AFRICA BUT REFUSE TO DO SO, WORSE STILL, THEY FEAR TO USE THEM. WE NOW FEAR TO COMMIT A SINGLE SOLDIER TO LIBERATE AFRICAN CONTINENT." HE PRAISED U.S. WAR AGAINST COLONIALISM TWO CENTURIES AGO AND WAR TO ACHIEVE UNITY AND IMPOSE IT. ON PRESENCE OF CUBAN SOLDIERS TOURE SAID, QUOTE MANY DISAPPROVE OF IT WHILE THEY DO NOT INTEND TO PROVIDE NECESSARY EXPERTS TO TAKE OVER. WE MUST CREATE WITHOUT DELAY CONDITIONS FOR ALL FOREIGN MILITARY CONTINGENTS TO LEAVE AFRICA, ONCE AND FOR ALL. THIS IS OUR HISTORICAL MISSION. NO FOREIGN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 KHARTO 03317 01 OF 02 240800Z

POWER SHOULD HAVE MILITARY BASES OR ARMED FORCES ON AFRICAN SOIL. WE CANNOT REASONABLY REFER TO IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES WHEN IT COMES TO DESTINY OF OUR PEOPLES. DID NOT SOVIET UNION ALLY ITSELF WITH CAPITALISTIC COUNTRIES TO DEFEAT FASCISM? WE SHOULD AVOID BEING EXTENSION OR PUPPET OF ANY FOREIGN POWER. END QUOTE.

2. AT EVENING JULY 19 SESSION, MOZAMBIQUE PRES SAMORA MACHEL MADE STRONG DEFENSE OF CUBAN AND SOVIET MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO AFRICA. IN THE ANGOLAN CONTEXT, MACHAL PRAISED "INTERNATIONALIST SACRIFICE OF CUBAN PEOPLE" TO CONTRIBUTE TO FIRST MILITARY DEFEAT OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS AND EXEMPLARY SOVIET SACRIFICES IN BUILDING ANGOLAN PEOPLE'S VICTORY. MACHAL LASHED OUT AT IMPERIALISM, NAMELY THAT OF FORMER COLONIZING POWERS AND NATO MEMBERS. HE STATED WEAPONRY FOR LIBERATION MOVEMENTS COME GENERALLY FROM SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. THROUGHOUT HIS SPEECH MACHAL ATTACKED COLONIALISM/IMPERIALISM AS OBJECTIVES TO BE OVERCOME WHICH UNITE AFRICA.

3. NIGERIAN HEAD OF STATE OBASANJO DELIVERED PROBABLY THE MOST QUOTABLE SPEECH ON MILITARY INTERVENTION IN

AFRICA, AS EVIDENCED BY WESTERN MEDIA REPORTS. HE ADVOCATED IDEALISTIC POSITION OF AN AFRICA FREE OF ALL FOREIGN INTERVENTION WITHOUT RESERVATION. HE OBLIQUELY REFERRED TO SHABA II INTERVENTION AS "MOST NAKED AND UNASHAMED ATTEMPT (BY CERTAIN EX-COLONIAL EUROPEAN POWERS) TO DETERMINE WHAT AFRICA'S TRUE COLLECTIVE INTERESTS SHOULD BE. WE REJECT NOTION THAT AFRICA'S INTERESTS OR COLLECTIVE SECURITY NEEDS CAN BE DISCUSSED OR DETERMINED BY WESTERN NATIONS, OR ANYBODY ELSE WITHOUT OUR CONSENT OR WITHOUT CONSULTATION WITH DELEGATIONS MANDATED BY OAU."

4. ON SOVIET AND CUBAN INTERVENTION, OBASANJO SAID QUOTE NO AFRICAN COUNTRY IS ABOUT TO EMBRACE COMMUNISM WHOLESALE. AFRICA WAS COLONIZED BY WESTERN POWERS AND NOT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 04 KHARTO 03317 01 OF 02 240800Z

SOVIETS. SOVIETS WERE INVITED INTO AFRICA FOR A PURPOSE, AND THAT PURPOSE WAS TO LIBERATE COUNTRIES TO WHICH THEY WERE INVITED. WE SHOULD NOT BE OVER-CONCERNED BY THE PRESENCE OF THOSE INVITED TO FIGHT FOR SPECIFIC CAUSES AND "NO MORE." CUBANS INTERVENED AS CONSEQUENCE OF WESTERN POLICY FAILURES. WE HAVE NO RIGHT TO CONDEMN CUBANS NOR COUNTRIES WHICH FELT THEY NEEDED CUBAN ASSISTANCE TO CONSOLIDATE THEIR SOVEREIGNTY OR TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY.

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 KHARTO 03317 02 OF 02 240821Z  
ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 ARA-10 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00  
PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01  
SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-12 TRSE-00 OMB-01 /101 W  
-----035096 240833Z /20

R 240617Z JUL 78  
FM AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7917  
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI  
AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MADRID  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
USINT HAVANA  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
USMISSION USNATO  
USICA WASHDC

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 2 OF 2 KHARTOUM 3317

DEPT PASS OAU COLLECTIVE

KELSINKI FOR CAT DELEGATION

5. QUOTE THERE ARE THREE PARTIES INVOLVED IN CONTEXT OF FOREIGN INTERVENTION IN AFRICA; THE SOVIETS AND OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, THE WESTERN POWERS, AND WE AFRICANS. TO THE SOVIETS I SHOULD LIKE TO SAY THAT THEY SHOULD NOT OVERSTAY THEIR WELCOME. AFRICA IS NOT ABOUT TO THROW OFF LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 KHARTO 03317 02 OF 02 240821Z

ONE COLONIAL YOKE FOR ANOTHER. THEY SHOULD SEE IT TO BE IN THEIR INTEREST NOT TO SEEK TO MAINTAIN PERPETUALLY THEIR PRESENCE IN AFRICA EVEN AFTER THE PURPOSE OF WHICH THEY WERE INVITED HAS BEEN ACHIEVED. LET THE SOVIETS AND THEIR COLLABORATORS HEAD THIS TIMELY COUNSEL.

6. QUOTE TO WESTERN POWERS, THEY SHOULD NOT ACT WITH DIFFERENT CONCEPTS OF INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY FOR AFRICA AND FOR EUROPE. PARATROOP DROPS ON 20TH CENTURY ARE NO MORE ACCEPTABLE TO US THAN GUNBOATS OF THE LAST CENTURY WERE TO OUR ANCESTORS. CONVENING CONFERENCES IN EUROPE AND AMERICA TO DECIDE FATE OF AFRICA RAISES UGLY SPECTRES WHICH SHOULD BE FORGOTTEN. IF THEY SEE AFRICA PRIMARILY AS A MARKET RATHER THAN SOURCE OF RAW MATERIALS THEY WOULD NOT DISTURB OUR PACE AND STABILITY. WE TOTALLY REJECT, AS INSTRUMENT OF NEO-COLONIALISM, ANY COLLECTIVE SECURITY SCHEME FOR AFRICA FASHIONED OUTSIDE AFRICA FOR INTERESTS OF ANY SUPER POWER BLOC.

7. QUOTE AFRICAN LEADERS MUST REALIZE IT IS OUR OWN ACTIONS WHICH PROVIDE OUTSIDE POWERS WITH EXCUSE TO INTERFERE WITH OUR AFFAIRS. WE MUST HAVE COURAGE TO TELL OURSELVES WHAT IS UNJUST AND IMMORAL TO ENSURE MINIMUM LEVELS OF DECENT LEADERSHIP AND GOOD GOVERNMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE. IDEA OF DIVINE LEADERSHIP IN AFRICA IS PAST.

DEFENSE AGAINST EXTERNAL FORCES IS GOVERNMENT WHICH ENDEAVORS TO CARRY MAJORITY OF POPULATION WITH IT AND TREATS ITS PEOPLE DECENTLY. WE MUST NOT ALLOW THE EAST AND WEST TO DIVIDE US AND SET US AGAINST OURSELVES UNDER ANY GUISE. WE CAN NO LONGER HIDE BEHIND REAL OR IMAGINED FOREIGN MACHINATIONS, FOR OUR OWN FAILINGS. END QUOTE.

8. SOMALI PRES. SIAD BARRE MADE HIS EXPECTED ATTACK ON LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 KHARTO 03317 02 OF 02 240821Z

SOVIET AND CUBAN MILITARY PRESENCE IN HORN OF AFRICA AND REINFORCED HIS FOREIGN MINISTER'S CALL FOR CUBA'S EXPULSION FROM NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT (NAM). SIAD ASSERTED "SOVIET UNION IS AN ACTIVE AND HIGHLY PROMINENT PARTICIPANT IN SCRAMBLE FOR RECOLONIZATION OF AFRICA. WE HAVE BEEN DISILLUSIONED BY SOVIET UNION." TURNING TO CUBA, SIAD CLAIMED THEY HAD TAKEN ON STRANGE ROLE IN HORN - QUOTE A SUPPOSEDLY NON-ALIGNED COUNTRY HAS CHOSEN TO ALLY ITSELF WITH FORCES OF COLONIALISM, OPPRESSION AND HEGEMONISM. IT HAS ALLOWED ITSELF TO BE USED AS PROXY FOR A SUPER POWER, NAMELY THE SOVIET UNION. CUBA IS SURROGATE OF THE SOVIET UNION IN HORN OF AFRICA. THIS ASSEMBLY WILL NO DOUBT CONSIDER SERIOUSLY COLLECTIVE AFRICAN ACTION TO COUNTER THE CUBAN MENACE, ON THE EVE OF NON-ALIGNED STATES MEETING IN BELGRADE, AND ITS ATTEMPTS TO ALLAY INTERNATIONAL CENSURE BY HOSTING THE NAM CONFERENCE IN 1979. END QUOTE

9. ETHIOPIAN FONMIN FELEKE MADE SIMILARLY PREDICTABLE DEFENSE OF SOVIETS AND CUBANS. FELEKE STATED (A) IT IS SOVEREIGN RIGHT OF STATES TO ENTER INTO BILATERAL AGREEMENTS WITH ANY FOREIGN POWER, (B) EVERY STATE CAN REQUEST ASSISTANCE FROM ANY QUARTER TO PRESERVE ITS INDEPENDENT EXISTENCE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, AND (C) EVERY STATE HAS RIGHT TO INVITE "EXPERTS AND TECHNICIANS" AS IT DEEMS NECESSARY WHOSE NUMBER AND DURATION OF STAY CANNOT BE SUBJECT OF DISCUSSION HE FURTHER JUSTIFIED SOVIET, CUBAN AND OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES' PRESENCE ON BASIS OF THEIR BEING IN FOREFRONT OF LIBERATING AFRICAN COUNTRIES.

10. ANGOLAN PRES NETO ASSERTED, "CUBAN TROOPS WILL NOT LEAVE ANGOLA ON MY ORDERS SO LONG AS MILITARY, POLITICAL AND DIPLOMATIC AGGRESSION PERSISTS. THEY WILL REMAIN IN ANGOLA SO LONG AS THE AGGRESSION PERSISTS, AND THE EFFECTIVES WILL EVEN BE INCREASED IF NEED BE."

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 04 KHARTO 03317 02 OF 02 240821Z

11. SUMMIT HAS NOT YET REACHED ANY DECISION ON FOREIGN INTERVENTION, BUT IT IS CLEAR THAT OAU, AS AN INSTITUTION, WILL NOT CONDEMN SOVIETS AND CUBANS BY NAME. FRENCH ARE ALSO LIKELY TO ESCAPE CONDEMNATION, EVEN THOUGH THEY HAVE BEEN TARGET OF ANTI-WESTERN ATTACKS. RESOLUTIONS SHOULD BE AVAILABLE SHORTLY.  
BERGUS

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 jan 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** ARMED FORCES, SUMMIT MEETINGS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 24 jul 1978  
**Decaption Date:** 01 jan 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1978KHARTO03317  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** N/A  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** D780303-0025  
**Format:** TEL  
**From:** KHARTOUM  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1978/newtext/t19780728/aaaaaxml.tel  
**Line Count:** 287  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
**Litigation Codes:**  
**Litigation History:**  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Message ID:** e23bf96d-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ACTION AF  
**Original Classification:** LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 6  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** 78 KHARTOUM 3268, 78 KHARTOUM 3269, 78 KHARTOUM 3200  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 29 apr 2005  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 1910453  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** OAU SUMMIT: FOREIGN MILITARY PRESENCE IN AFRICA  
**TAGS:** MASS, PORC, CU, FR, UR, XA, OAU  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvwkey:** odhc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/e23bf96d-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Sheryl P. Walter  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
20 Mar 2014  
**Markings:** Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014